

## Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 NEA-07 IO-06 SS-07  
AID-02 NSC-06 /044 W  
-----131046Z 052282 /14/45

P R 110945Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9005  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 2511

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

BAMAKO AND NIAMEY FOR CODEL DIGGS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
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TAGS: OREP (DIGGS, CHARLES) PFOR, UN, EAID, SF,  
WA, MARR, FR, XY, SG  
SUBJ: CHAIRMAN DIGGS' MEETING WITH SENEGALESE PRESIDENT  
SENGHOR

REF: A. STATE 77383, B. STATE 78517

SUMMARY: DURING ONE-HOUR MEETING APRIL 9 WITH PRESIDENT SENGHOR CODEL DIGGS NOTED CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, OUTLINED CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST IN SAHELIAN DEVELOPMENT AND SOUGHT SENEGALESE LEADER'S VIEWS ON CURRENT AFRICAN ISSUES. SENGHOR COMMENTED ON FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT, ZAIRE, CONGO, WESTERN SAHAR, HORN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE CALLED FOR STRONGER WESTERN SUPPORT TO AFRICA IN FACE OF INCREASING SOVIET-CUBAN DESTABILIZING INFLUENCE. END SUMMARY.

1. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS NOTED HIS PLEASURE IN HEADING FIRST CODEL TO SENEGAL IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION. WORKING FOR FIRST TIME AS CHAIRMAN UNDER DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENT, DIGGS SAID HE FELT GREATER SUPPORT FOR CAUSES HE REPRESENTED. AT SAME TIME HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY MORE RESOLUTE ACTIONS OF AFRICANS THEMSELVES, SUCH AS THOSE OF SOWETO. IN CONTEXT HIS DELEGATION'S CURRENT SURVEY OF SAHELIAN SITUATION, DIGGS SAID HE SOUGHT ANSWERS TO SOME OF SEARCHING QUESTIONS U.S. LEGISLATORS WERE ASKING IN CONSIDERING U.S. LONG-TERM COMMITMENT TO DEVELOPMENT. THESE INCLUDED PROBLEMS OF RESOLVING CONFLICTS BETWEEN DONORS AND RECIPIENTS OVER CRITERIA AND CONCEPTS AND DEBATE OVER ABSORPTIVE CAPACITIES OF RECIPIENT COUNTRIES. HE ASKED SENGHOR'S ASSESSMENTS OF: UPCOMING DAKAR FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT AND CURRENT SITUATION IN CENTRAL AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN ZAIRE, AND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

2. SENGHOR PRAISED U.S. ROLE IN CONFIRMING CYCLIC THEORY OF SAHELIAN DROUGHT, I.E. A 7 TO 10 YEAR SEVERE DRY PERIOD  
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EVERY 100 YEARS. HE FELT CILLS AND CLUB DES AMIS DU SAHEL PROVIDE ADEQUATE FORUMS FOR DONOR-RECIPIENT COORDINATION BUT WARNED AGAINST LETTING FRANCE CONTROL CLUB, INSISTING THAT DONORS DECIDE WHO SHOULD BE THEIR PRINCIPAL REPRESENTATIVE. IN LARGELY FRANCOPHONE SAHEL HE SAW NEED FOR DIVERSITY IN DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE. WHILE ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY PRESENTED NO SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR SENEGAL WITH ITS WELL-REASONED DEVELOPMENT PLAN AND EXPERIENCED CADRES, CHAD, UPPER VOLTA, MALI AND MAURITANIA PROBABLY REQUIRED SPECIAL DONOR HELP IN SETTING UP RESEARCH MECHANISM TO DETERMINE PRIORITIES AND FACILITATE RESOURCES TRANSFER.

3. FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT SHOULD BRING 18 CHIEFS OF STATE OR OF GOVERNMENT TO DAKAR WHERE GISCARD IS EXPECTED TO RELAUNCH HIS APPEAL FOR MARSHALL PLAN FOR AFRICA. SENGHOR FELT U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT SUCH INITIATIVES WHICH HE CONSIDERED IMPORTANT APPROACH TO REDRESS AFRICA'S DISADVANTAGEOUS BALANCE IN TERMS OF TRADE. IN PAST TWO YEARS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' PRODUCTION HAD DECREASED BY TWENTY

PERCENT WHILE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS' PRODUCTION INCREASED BY  
SAME FIGURE.

4. SENGHOR SAID HE WAS GREATLY DISTURBED BY FACT THAT AFRICA  
WAS RAPIDLY REPLACING ASIA AS THE "BLOODY CONTINENT." AFRICANS  
WERE PRINCIPALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CURRENT SITUATION. IN CONGO  
IT WAS NOT MASSAMBA DEBAT WHO MASTERMINDED ASSASSINATION  
OF PRESIDENT NGOUABI BUT THE JUNTA WHICH ASSUMED POWER  
AFTER KILLING BOTH MASSAMBA AND NGOUABI. JUNTA REACTED  
VIOLENTLY TO NGOUABI'S DISILLUSION WITH MARXISM-LENISM  
AND HIS PLAN TO BOW OUT IF FAVOR OF MASSAMBA-DEBAT. SENGHOR  
SAID SOVIETS MAY HAVE ENCOURAGED JUNTA'S ACTION. WESTERN  
SAHARAN CONFLICT, BORN OF ALGERIA'S DESIRE FOR 1000 KILO-  
METERS OF ATLANTIC COASTLINE, WAS ANOTHER TROUBLESOME  
PROBLEM. HOWEVER, THERE WERE SIGNS THAT ALGERIA WAS TIRING  
OF CONFLICT, SENGHOR SAID, AMONG THEM THEIR RECENT RESUEST FOR  
HIM TO RESUME HIS EFFORTS AT MEDIATION. IN HORN OF AFRICA  
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DISSENTION BETWEEN ETHIOPIA, SUDAN AND SOMALIA WAS  
ENCOURAGED BY SOVIETS, CUBANS AND AFRICANS LIKE LIBYA'S  
QUADDAFI. IN ETHIOPIAN CRISIS ONLY SOLUTION SENEGAL COULD SEE  
WOULD BE AUTONOMOUS ERITREA WITHIN UNIFIED ETHIOPIAN  
REPUBLIC.

5. TURNING TO SOUTHERN AFRICA, SENGHOR SAID IT ALL ZIMBABWE'S  
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WERE UNIFIED IAN SMITH WOULD HAVE TO  
SUBMIT TO THEM RAPIDLY. U.S. AND U.K. HAD PUT BALL BACK  
IN AFRICAN COURT. SENGHOR SAID U.S. SHOULD SHOW FORCE AND  
PRESSURE IN DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA.  
MEANWHILE HE HAD SENT MESSAGE TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL  
WALDHEIM DESCRIBING AS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE "CARICATURE OF  
CONSTITUTION VORSTER IS PROPOSING." AMBASSADOR LEFT AIDE  
MEMOIRE BASED ON REFTEL B ON APRIL 7 FIVE-POWER DEMARCHE TO  
SOUTH AFRICA ON NAMIBIA.

6. SENGHOR'S STRONGEST APPEAL WAS FOR U.S. NOT TO GIVE  
COMMUNISTS FREE HAND IN AFRICA AS HE FELT REVERSAL OF  
STRONG U.S. POSITON IN ANGOLA AND CURRENT RETICENT TACTICS  
IN ZAIRE SUGGESTED. TRACING HISTORY OF SENEGALESE EFFORTS TO  
ASSIST ANGOLAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SENGHOR SAID PRIOR TO  
ANGOLAN INDEPENDENCE HE HAD SIGNALLED TO SENATORS HUMPHREY  
AND KENNEDY DANGER OF SOVIET AND CUBAN ACTIVITY IN CENTRAL  
AFRICA BUT HIS MESSAGES BROUGHT NO RESPONSE.

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 NEA-07 ISO-00 IO-06 SS-07  
AID-01 NSC-06 /043 W  
-----121704Z 037706 /45

P R 110945Z APR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY DAKAR  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9006  
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA  
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA  
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS  
AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY CONAKRY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA  
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AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY NDJAMENA  
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY  
UFHYKT/AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT 3928  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
USMISSION USUN  
AMEMBASSY BANJUL BY POUCH  
AMEMBASSY BISSAU BY POUCH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 DAKAR 2511

BAMAKO AND NIAMEY FOR CODEL DIGGS

WEST HAD LET SOVIET-CUBAN EXPEDITION CAPTURE ANGOLAN LEADER-  
SHIP AND MAINTAIN NETO REGIME BECAUSE THEY WANTED TO DO  
BUSINESS WITH ANGOLA.FRENCH HAD PRESSUED HIM TO RECOGNIZE  
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NETO GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING SUGGESTIONS THAT HIS  
ATTITUDE EXPOSED HIM TO PERSONAL VIOLENCE BUT SENEGAL WOULD  
REMAIN ONE OF FEW COUNTRIES WHO REFUSED TO RECOGNIZE ANGOLA  
UNTIL CUBANS WERE WITHDRAWN. SENEGAL HAD NOT SUCCUMBED  
TO SOVIET INTIMIDATION BY SENDING SHIPS INTO SENEGALESE

WATERS. SOVIETS WERE SEEKING A DOMINANT ROLE OFF AFRICAN CONTINENT THROUGH FISHING RIGHTS AND BASE AGREEMENTS. CAPE VERDIANS RECENTLY REJECTED SOVIET FISHING OFFER. WEST SHOULD NOT TAKE WEAK POSTURE IN AFRICA. IN ZAIRE, WHEN U.S. SENT MEDICAL SUPPLIES, "YOU ALMOST APOLOGIZED FOR DOING SO," SENGHOR SAID. AFRICANS BEGIN TO WONDER IF THEY CAN DEPEND UPON WEST, HE ASSERTED. SENGHOR SAID MORE AND MORE MODERATE AFRICAN STATES CONCENTRATING THEIR EFFORTS BUT NEED WAS FOR CONCRETE WESTERN SUPPORT, NOT WORDS. MOST OF SENGHOR'S NEIGHBORS RECEIVED STRONG COMMUNIST MILITARY SUPPORT. GUINEA BISSAU HAD 800 TO 1000 CUBAN ADVISORS. THAT IS WHY PRESIDENT ISSUED STRONG WARNING THAT FOREIGN INVADERS WOULD BE STOUTLY RESISTED AND REPELLED (DAKAR 2398).

7. IN MIDST OF NON-RADICAL AFRICA'S DIMINISHING CONFIDENCE IN THE WEST, SENGHOR SAW PRESIDENT CARTER AS A POSITIVE ELEMENT. A BELIEVER WHO SOUGHT TO HAVE HIS ACTIONS CORRESPOND WITH HIS WORDS, CARTER IN THIS SUPPORT AND ACTIONS STRONGLY ASSOCIATING BLACK AMERICANS IN HIS ADMINISTRATION LED AFRICANS TO BE FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO HIM. BUT, SENGHOR SAID, HE MUST NOT LET SOVIET INFILTRATION CONQUER AFRICAN CONTINENT. SENGHOR ASKED CODEL DIGGS TO CARRY HIS MESSAGE BACK TO WASHINGTON. HE REALIZED THAT CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES DIFFERED WITH THOSE OF AFRICAN LEADERS ON SOME CURRENT ISSUES, BUT HE KNEW DIGGS WOULD DO HIS BEST.

8. DIGGS THANKS SENEGALESE PRESIDENT FOR HIS INSIGHT ON SAHEL AND DIVERSE AFRICAN PROBLEMS. HE FELT IN ADDITION TO PRESIDENT CARTER, NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD IN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE A STRONG ADVOCATE OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND SUPPORTER OF HUMANITARIAN CAUSES. NEW LEADERS WERE INCREASINGLY CONFIDENTIAL

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POPULAR AS THEY ERADICATED CERTAIN NEGATIVE IMAGES OF U.S. THAT HAD GROWN AROUND THE WORLD.

9. HIRC STAFF CONSULTANT CHALLENGER ASKED WHETHER APPROACH OF U.S. WHICH GAVE MORE ECONOMIC AID THAN SOVIETS TO AFRICA MIGHT NOT BE BEST WAYS OF HELPING AFRICAN REGIMES RESIST COMMUNIST EFFORTS. SENGHOR REPLIED THAT PROBLEM WAS COMPLEX. WHEN SOVIET UNION'S FRIENDS IN AFRICA ASK USSR FOR ECONOMIC AID, THEY ARE QUIETLY TOLD TO GO TO THE WEST. AND THE WEST AIDS REGIMES THAT TILT TOWARD EAST. NON-COMMUNISTS LOSE BECAUSE RADICALS GET MILITARY AID FROM EAST AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM THE WEST. WE NEED MORE MILITARY HELP FROM WEST. THE U.S. WILL HELP US RE-EQUIP OUR ENGINEERING BATTALION BUT WE HAVE TO PAY FOR IT, SENGHOR REMARKED.

10. PRESIDENT SENGHOR TOLD DIGGS OF HIS PLAN TO VISIT U.S. IN 1978 TO INAUGURATE MAJOR SENEGALESE EXHIBIT, AT

WHICH TIME HE HOPED TO RENEW HIS CONTACTS WITH AMERICAN  
EXECUTIVE.  
AGGREY

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## Message Attributes

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